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TOWNS AND ARCHITECTURE OF THE HADHRAMAUT

By MRS. M. DE STURLER-RAEMAEKERS

000 Report of a lecture illustrated by a film delivered to the Society on Thursday, May 21, 1953, Mr. W. H. Ingrams, C.M.G., O.B.E., in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN: As you can well imagine, it is a great pleasure to me to take the chair this afternoon for Mrs. Sturler-Raemaekers, because I have spent ten years in the country which she is about to describe. Unfortunately, ever since I left it in 1944 time has done nothing but take me somewhere else in the world. I have just returned from a tour of the United States, Mexico, Central America and the West Indies. Most of my time seems to be taken up in Africa and it is difficult to get an opportunity of looking again at the Hadhramaut. Hence it is a great pleasure to be able to see Mrs. Sturler-Raemaekers' slides and to hear her account this afternoon.

341 I expect that in some respects at least the architecture of the Hadhramaut is
113 familiar to many of you through Freya Stark's books, perhaps particularly the illustrations in her book *Seen in the Hadhramaut*; also Mr. Osbert Lankaster, an architect who many may know better as a cartoonist, wrote an article on the architecture of the Hadhramaut some years ago which appeared, I believe, in the *Architectural Journal*.

341 There is a very long tradition of architecture in the Hadhramaut. One wonders
773 how long this wonderful working in mud has gone on. In ancient days the ancient
333 Hadhraumauti used to go in for monumental stone masonry on a [illegible] scale. I remember seeing huge stones lying on the old Hadhramauti ruins and being told by the local people that the stones had been transported to the early buildings by the Adites, who were formerly giants. Hadhraumaut is a country which has always recognized the Book of Genesis, that there were giants in the land in those days.

114 Mrs. Sturler-Raemaekers was born in Holland and came to England as a child, first, during the first World War. Here she was educated, so we can at least claim part of her. Then she went to France and later came back to England to study architecture for three years at the Architectural Association. She took her degree in Brussels and practised there. Then she travelled a good deal in Europe. She returned to England again at the outbreak of the recent World War and has been here ever since except for her travelling. In 1948 Mrs. Sturler-Raemaekers thought she would go further afield and, fortunately for us and for Arabia, she chose to go there, but before doing so she took the precaution of studying Arabic for two years at London University.

Mrs. Sturler-Raemaekers spent ten months in the Hadhramaut in 1950-51 and was there again in 1952 for five months. She has told me, very modestly, that that is a very inadequate time in which to study the Hadhramaut, but I think we shall discover that she found out a great deal of much interest while she was there.

MY experience of the Middle East is, as you have heard, somewhat brief, being only three years. I therefore feel a little embarrassed when speaking before a gathering in which there may be many who have probably travelled there for much longer periods. I trust they will show some indulgence towards anything I may say which may not be either new or just as they saw it; I have at least specialized knowledge in
121 one subject which took me there, and that is architecture. I went to study the buildings of Hadhramaut and make measured drawings of them. I do not intend to give a technical discourse on exactly how the buildings are constructed or how the bricks are made, because I do not think that this is

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what people want to hear. In this short talk I would like to deal more with the feeling of these buildings as related to the people who live in them and who have created them. If time allows I hope to show a short colour film I made there and which portrays general scenes of life in Hadhramaut.

There is one thing I can say without any hesitation or doubt, and that is to give expression to my great gratitude to those who helped me to go on these journeys. I could not possibly mention by name all those to whom I am indebted, but at least I wish to speak of Sir Bernard Reilly of the Colonial Office, who made it possible for me to go to Hadhramaut and gave me the necessary introductions. I also want to thank Dr. Serjeant of the School of Oriental and African Studies of London University, who taught me for two years and who showed me everything I had to know in order to travel in that strange and isolated country he had himself visited. Finally, I am most grateful to Colonel Hugh Boustead, Resident Adviser of the East Aden Protectorate, who facilitated my journey in every possible way. He was my kind host and gave me travel facilities and permits to go where many people had difficulty in going.

To plunge into my subject, I might say that one does in fact almost plunge into the Hadhramaut from above. It is one of those rare countries which cannot be reached by rail or by road and hardly by sea except on a little native dhow; so that since the British Protectorate authorities started to develop the country it has been habitual to go to Hadhramaut by plane, and one does indeed drop into it from the sky. Such isolation is rare in our times and needs some explanation for those not familiar with the geography of Southern Arabia.

Arabia has always been one of the most difficult countries of access to Europeans, for geographical as well as religious reasons. In the centre of the peninsula is one of the largest deserts in the world, and it is surrounded by forbidding coastal ranges from halfway up the Red Sea coast, down to the "barren rocks of Aden" and eastward along the southern coast, almost three-quarters of its length before there is any break in the mountains.

But for small valleys, these mountains and the interior are absolutely barren. With the exception of the Yemen, to all intents and purposes, little or nothing grows in that vast area. There is no water. There is little earth, and in the relentless mountain ranges and plateaux along the coast there is often not even sand—just rock and flint and granite. Yet these coastal ranges are crossed in all directions by ageless tracks made by camel trains of the bedouin traders who have followed them for two thousand, perhaps three thousand years, bringing the incense from Dhufar beyond Hadhramaut.

The people who now live in the interior highlands are the bedouin, the descendants of the traders of old, who dwell in small stone-built villages or mud castles. This south-western corner is still largely a tribal area where there are different little bedouin sultanates. Some of them are being gradually brought into the confederation and some even accept complete British protection; others live entirely in their own ancient way of life of blood feuds and strife. Some miles out of Aden a sultan recently

killed two of his cousins because of some rivalry between them, and not more than fifteen years ago there were cases of open piracy at Balhaf. Such incidents will illustrate that it is not easy country to travel through or to subjugate, isolated as it is behind roadless mountains and plateaux. There are some 500 miles of this barren, rough country, where the people are fiercely independent and distrustful of outsiders. It was long impossible to travel right across it, and it has been done by only very few people, chiefly by the Dutch explorer Van der Meulen, who has crossed it three times.

Considering the geography it is not surprising that modern civilization, and particularly European civilization, has never penetrated the interior of this peninsula. In such outcrops of continents as this all civilization seems to come and go very slowly, and so does life itself. The Indo-European civilization, which started in the Fertile Crescent before the time of Ur of the Chaldeans, has only very slowly percolated down to this outcrop of Asia, as it did in the peninsulas of India and Malaya; once there, it remained static and almost intact for 4,000 years. When one goes to Hadhramaut now one can almost imagine living in the time of Abraham of Ur and the Chaldeans.

The Hadhramis themselves trace back their ancestry and history to Noah, from whom they descend through Sem and his grandson Ad, who is their legendary father of the giant race, and from whom in turn descends *Hathermaweth*, whose name means "Death is Present" and became "Hadhramaut." This shows that in those far-off days the Arabs of Southern Arabia were hardly less bellicose than they were until the British came to Hadhramaut in 1934, when Mr. Ingrams started negotiating cessation of wars and blood feuds.

Hadhramaut, we know then, lies 400 miles from Aden eastwards along a roadless coast, across merciless basalt mountains, quicksand, dunes and deserted beaches—400 miles of sand and rock and ragged cliffs, with only five unknown bedouin fishing hamlets en route. Going along this coast—be it by plane, dhow or, at last, since 1951 by pioneer desert trucks—one can hardly believe that any form of life is possible inside or behind these torrid treeless wastes. For behind these coastal ranges, to the north, we know it is the great desert that covers all Southern Arabia, the Empty Quarter, which has but four or five oases along the 600- or 700-mile camel route that crosses it. Neither from north nor south is there seemingly any life vein, nor from east nor west. Yet it is here that we shall find the valley of Hadhramaut.

Like the hidden valley of Petra, Hadhramaut has remained secluded throughout the centuries, but with this difference: the valley of Hadhramaut is not dead.

When one has braved the 400 miles of desolation eastward from Aden, one suddenly comes upon a great scintillating white harbour; a crescent moon wedged between an azure bay and blistering pink rocks. This is Mukalla, the beautiful white-and-blue port, the cup of its harbour filled with many little native craft and sailing dhows. Behind the town there seems nothing but endless waste cobbled with one or two poor bedouin hamlets—the Jol, rising to 6,000 feet and stretching 150 miles inland. But

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133 a second miracle happens. There is a cleft in the great basalt plateau and
311 a beautiful green valley opens abruptly in the flat tableland—a valley running from east to west, joining the sea some 150 miles further on. This is a fertile valley with gardens and palm groves, millet fields and white palaces. An underground river continually provides water for the wells and the little irrigation channels. There are crops up to three times per year. In this lovely setting very civilized and well-dressed townsfolk live in large mud-built towns on the valley cliff sides. Recently they have laid aside their arms and ceased their blood feuds and tribal wars which raged from town to town, from tribe to tribe, from family to family. With the aid of the British adviser they have established law and order and made their foreign trade, which is their livelihood, flourish unhindered.

172 When we go back into history to find out where this miracle has sprung
341 from, we discover that there were the old Sabean and Hymyaritic civilizations of 1,000 or 2,000 years B.C., of which Mr. Ingrams spoke. Perhaps it started with the Minean Empire, on the eastern border of Yemen, and its capital, Ma'in. Later came the Sabeans with their capital a little south, at Marib; followed by the Katabaneans, whose centre, Timna, was at the south-eastern corner of the great desert. And lastly, perhaps, the Hadhramis, whose early capital may have been the much disputed Shabwa. These people built in stone, and their buildings were several storeys high and of very fine dry masonry. Many are the ruins covering the western territory between Aden and Hadhramaut and to the north in Yemen. But also in Hadhramaut itself, further east, there are vestiges of towns and temples, in the main valley and the side valleys; great plans of garrison cities, and remains of castle and palace walls in beautifully executed stonework, all erected perhaps some 2,000 years ago.

341 With such a tradition it is not surprising that something is still found
333 in the present day, and although the Hadhramis have not continued the stone masonry and have turned mainly to sun-dried mud bricks, their achievements are of remarkable interest.

101 Reviewing the various groups of the population, there are the bedouin
342 who still live by camel transport, the sand bedouin of the desert who live in simple black camelhair tents, and the bedouin mountain tribesmen who live on the arid plateaux. The latter are rugged and tough, like the country round them. Their life is hard; it is scorching hot without any shade in the day, bitterly cold at night at 6,000 feet. They still build their low windowless huts with brushwood roofs with the stones of the plateaux in dry walling. They carry on in their primitive way the stone tradition which has been lost elsewhere in the eastern area.

361 The next class of inhabitants we meet are the remote valley bedouin,
311 who live in rather better circumstances. They do have a little grazing,
342 cultivate a little land where they grow millet called dharrah and a sort of little cucumber-tomato called faguws. They live in the earthen beds of long-dried-up rivers that have a flood from the hills about once a year. They have grown lazy like everyone else, and they build their little castles
342 of mud bricks with a base of rough stones from the river-bed. A passage down the centre leads from the entrance door with almost windowless rooms for storage either side to a stair leading to a sheltered roof terrace.

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It is the same type of building that has been carried to perfection in the towns. This brings us to the chief group of interest—the townsfolk. 342

The ancient cities usually lay on some small eminence in the centre of the main valley or up a side valley. They had defence walls round them and were probably manned by very well-organized garrisons. When the "middle ages" or "dark ages" of Arabia came upon this area with the decline of the land trade routes in the second century, these cities seem to have been abandoned as the empires broke up. The people who remained after this decline seem to have taken to living in eagles' nests and cliff-side towns built on the steep slopes of the valleys. They may be the forefathers of the town dwellers found today in the main valley of Hadhramaut and its tributaries of Wadi Do'an, Wadi bin Ali, and Wadi 'Idm. 361

People of the side valleys remained much closer to bedouin tradition than in the main valley, as in lovely Do'an, for instance—the narrow, riverless valley, its bed entirely covered with thick palm groves which are irrigated with water collected in pools and tanks from the yearly rains. They live simply, drinking the old bedouin drink of husk coffee with ginger and eating the plain millet cakes with a few dried herbs and vegetables (instead of tea and imported rice as is now done in the large towns). There are no natural resources here. Food, except dates and honey, is scarce. To earn a living the Do'anis go and trade abroad, mainly in East Africa. The women of the valley retain their picturesque costumes with heavy jewellery reminiscent of the bedouin silver. Their dresses are mostly of homespun black cotton (as also the men's coloured loin cloths), but for "best" they wear silver embroidered black velvet with gold and silver braid bodices. 311 312 511 262 439 291

Their cliff towns are a fair size and an amazing heaping-up of one building above the other. They are solid and well built of several storeys, on a long narrow plan parallel to the hillside in order not to dig too far into the mountain. Massive walls have small windows and corbelled cornices not found elsewhere in this area; they have a Gothic decorativeness that is pure instinct and a lovely rough, crumbling mud surface that fades into the mountainside because they are made of the same material as the mountain itself. Usually the houses are laid out in small apartments, a room with a lobby and a washroom to each; sometimes one, sometimes two to each floor. Both buildings and streets are narrow for lack of space. 342 361 531

But when we come to the great Wadi Hadhramaut the streets are wide and the buildings are much larger and more sophisticated. This Wadi has its underground river and innumerable wells. Luxury abounds. The people from the great valley towns—Shibam, Saiywun, Terim—made their fortunes in Singapore and Java, and here one comes to the most impressive buildings of Hadhramaut. 361 342

The great desert town of Shibam with its 500 houses is a town of merchants only. Contrary to all other towns its site is on an eminence in the centre of the valley, and I wonder whether it may not be an old Sabean site. The buildings on the outer rim of the town form a solid wall, five to six storeys high, and these are the houses of the great, where they get a maximum of air, light and view. Six storeys is the agreed maximum, so that no one shall overlook his neighbour. Only the ruler's castle, on [441]

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361 a mound, is seven storeys and rises above the rest, the whole, like all
342 others, built in mud bricks.

In the centre, the space that is left, lie huddled the one-storeyed shops of the suq and the many-storeyed flat houses of the poor. Shibam seemed the only town where houses were occupied in flats. Elsewhere I saw almost exclusively one-family houses even if the family had many groups within it.

342 All houses in Hadhramaut have a strong inward slant from bottom to
333 top, which gives them a look of strength mingled with grace. There are no basements and barely foundations, but the ground floor is an almost solid base, so thick are the walls that taper towards the top. They may be almost 3 feet thick at the base for a tall castle, and a foot at the top.

In Shibam, the houses forming a solid rampart wall have windows at the two ends only, and a small light-well to light the stairs in the centre of the deep building. The ground floor usually contains granaries and stores. The straight flights of the stairs rise between thick walls with a very heavy
342 central block. On the first floor the Shibam citizen keeps his goats and
231 rabbits in the outside rooms, while the centre is occupied by more stores. About the second floor begin the living quarters—that is, the office and rooms of the men, stores in the centre again, and often with kitchen,
342 washroom, and lavatory. These washrooms and lavatories are systemati-
336 cally built over a central shaft, though water is mostly allowed to run from a gutter into the centre of the street. But there are "back" streets for the
342 sanitation and "front" streets for doors. About the third floor the private quarters begin. They would be men's living quarters, with the ladies on the floor above, the fourth, with kitchen and washrooms again; right on top, often little private quarters for the owner of the house where he may enjoy most fresh air. Each floor has a double set of windows, a large one down to the floor and a small square one for ventilation above, up against the ceiling, so that there are continual draughts running through the top of the room. Practically all rooms have windows on two sides, and with this and the thick walls and the smooth plaster they remain pleasantly cool.

342 The lower floors are usually the loftiest; even the ground floor store
353 rooms are up to 12 and 13 feet high. The house often has two entrances—
531 a large door for the men and a little one for the ladies, with separate stairs in the larger houses, even in Shibam where land is scarce. The façades are in rough mud brick, a uniform brown colour with a white plaster smooth base and white ornaments round windows and parapet, getting richer towards the top of the house, which is the best part of it.

Their plasterwork is one of their great arts. It is extraordinarily hard. To obtain this it is presumed to be mixed with date juice. When polished with a piece of flint and rubbed with a cloth for hours it acquires a lustre that makes it shine like marble. This is chiefly done inside the main rooms and in the washrooms and stairs. Outside it is only polished at the base, for water to run off. The ornamentation of the upper storeys is left
342 rough white. But as people's wealth increased they have abandoned this
531 form of very characteristic decoration, which divided the tall buildings in broad brown bands alternating with narrow white bands at window level.

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Now they cover the building in white plaster all over, and the charming ornamentation in darts and trefoils is lost.

The oldest building in Shibam, the castle, which may be anything from 80 to 150 years old, still shows this decoration in horizontal bands of white round the windows. It seems an old bedouin tradition, for I have found it in remote bedouin villages. So all these old, charming and vigorous forms—dart motifs, broad bands, crenellated terraces, carved and nail-studded doors and graceful mucharabias for the ladies to look down into the street from the high terraces—are being abandoned. The present-day Hadhrami thinks them old-fashioned and copies the Indian and pseudo-Classic styles he has seen in Java and Singapore. Niches are filled in; and instead of the flat, low relief white ornaments (all shapes receding because the mud crumbles and the yearly rainfalls wash them away) we now find entablatures, pediments, balusters and pilasters, designed for much more lasting materials, like stone, and which here soon become shabby.

Shibam, the old-fashioned, has only just begun to suffer from this. Going, also, is one of the amenities of the Arab house: the coffee corner. In almost every room and terrace there was a little dais in a cool and shaded corner by a window where the master or mistress sat to make coffee for the guests. In the walls behind the dais there were niches specially shaped to take the pestle and mortar, the charcoal tin, the cups, and a small cupboard to lock away the precious ingredients—coffee, ginger and sugar. On the window-sill there was often a tall jar for the water and a runnel for waste water to flow away. Instead of these we now find the tea ceremony round the samovar in the middle of the floor, the little dais being broken away.

But we now move to the most fashionable of the Hadhramaut towns—to Saiywun and Terim and the many surrounding small towns. Here one finds a different type of people. There are many merchants too, but here we find another leading class, also great landowners in Java and Singapore. These are Sayyids, members of the eighty holy families, descendants of Mohammed, who live in these towns beside the lower classes. They have been the spiritual and temporal lords of the country for centuries. They have authority in matters of justice and civil affairs, and they are believed to have healing gifts. Until recently they were the undisputed rulers of the country. Now their power wanes before more democratic forms.

These people live in shining white palaces in the manner of *grands seigneurs*. They wear long white silk coats or the Indian silk longie and pastel-shaded shirts. The ladies, up till recently, wore heavy satin embroidered and sequin-covered kimono-like gowns, bunched into a low silver belt round the hips. Now these are forbidden as they cannot be washed. They wear their hair in hundreds of fine plaits. Up to the age of eight little girls may show face and hair, then they cover hair and neck with a close-fitting shawl and at twelve they go into purdah completely.

Their houses are built in a solid square block without inner courtyard and with windows on all four sides. Even the old streets are fairly wide in these towns that lie in the foothills. The more modern houses are surrounded by a walled garden. They are completely divided into two, one

665 342 half for the men and one for the women, each with their entrance, kitchen, store rooms and granary on the ground floor, reception rooms and wash-rooms on the first floor, and more private apartments with washrooms on the second floor. There may be a third floor with terrace rooms, but usually not more.

342 353 565 Although the span of the ceiling beams is quite small, as everywhere else (about six feet, determined by the maximum size of timber available), many of the rooms in these houses are very large, being divided up by two, four, six or nine pillars. They have rows of three or four windows, some even more, on two sides. The floors are covered with carpets, and cushions against the walls are the only form of furnishing. There will be niches with cups, silver samovars and brass trays; other niches with some books; and a few large flat basket-trays hung on the walls, from which one eats. But that is absolutely all that is needed. There are large wall closets for clothing and for bedding, the normal place to sleep being the floor. But there is no difference between a living-room and a sleeping apartment. Each room serves for either purpose in turn, the men and the women [291 515] being separate. Nor are there clothes for the night and clothes for the day, though the men wear beautifully laundered clothes, frequently changed.

342 515 Washrooms consist of a spacious compartment, with glazed plaster walls with niches and pegs for clothing. Near the window stands a tall jar with water and a scoop for showering oneself. The water runs out under the window through a runnel and gutter. Some washrooms have a shower tank. The washroom may contain a lavatory of the south continental, foot-rest type, or this may be in an entirely separate spacious compartment. Each floor has at least two. Besides this the Saywun and Terim house has a little " roman " bath for complete ablution about 10 feet square, and which is usually near the private prayer-room.

342 271 Another pleasant characteristic of the Saywun house is that in the large corridor that runs from one side of the house to the other; in front of the window at the coolest end there is usually a corner for drinking-water skins to hang up in a cooling draught. Niches for cups are at hand, and again there is a runnel for the water dripping from the skin to run outside. The same arrangement is found on most terraces. Upper rooms are used in summer, lower rooms in winter for warmth, for there is no glass in the windows and only ill-fitting wood shutters to keep out the night air.

342 All these amenities will be found on a small scale in the most modest houses. The house of the dhobbi had three floors. It contained about *four living-rooms, two washrooms, a kitchen and a store.* So that where space is concerned the Hadhrami house does not compare unfavourably with European standards.

000 A film showing Hadhramaut buildings was followed by a vote of thanks to the lecturer.